

man diese Maßstäbe für den Fall an, muss das Ergebnis als enttäuschend bezeichnet werden.

Berlin

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Thomas Lane, Marian Wolański: Poland and European Integration. The Ideas and Movements of Polish Exiles in the West, 1939-91. Palgrave Macmillan. New York 2009. 311 S. ISBN 978-0-230-22937-2. (\$ 95,-.)

When reviewing the remarkable story of European integration after World War II, scholarly texts, document collections, and course syllabi tend to restrict themselves to Western European actors. Major landmarks in European integration often include Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's crusade for Pan-Europe during World War II, the Robert Schuman Plan pooling French and German coal and steel resources in 1950, the advent of Benelux and then the European Economic Community, the formation of the European Union, and finally the EU's eastward expansion. European integration thus becomes a story of how, under Western European leadership, the war-torn continent sought coexistence and collaboration. In their new and well-researched political narrative, Thomas Lane and Marian Wolański seek to pull Poland from its marginal, even absent role in traditional narratives of European integration by introducing Polish poets, politicians, and ideologues from the eighteenth century to the present into the leading caste that has campaigned for a united Europe. In their assessment, "Polish exiles were in the vanguard of the movement for European integration" and ranked among the very "founding fathers of European integration" (p. 1). By documenting Poland's role in theorizing and realizing the Pan-European idea, they assert Poland's place, not just as a part of "Europe", but also as a leader in forming the very idea of Europe itself.

The work begins with a grand narrative of Polish contributions to the "European" idea from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. Adam Czartoryski, Wojciech Jarzembowski, and Józef Retinger were just a few of the thinkers whose pan-European dreams (common currency, common defense, pooling of economic resources) tantalize the imagination with the prospect that Polish thinkers had laid much of the relevant groundwork long before French and German figures began striving to integrate the western part of the continent after 1945. At times this back-story of daring Polish foresight can appear a bit idealized. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was not a truly democratic republic, in which "the rule of equality and respect for the rights of the weaker were fully adhered to," nor was it a precursor for European integration (p. 6). The authors more effectively establish the Polish roots for certain pan-European ideas when they reach the Second World War. Finding themselves trapped in Western exile, Polish leaders began to imagine a "federal" solution for postwar Europe, which might have included economic and even political interdependence throughout much of Eastern Europe. The 1943 death of Władysław Sikorski (a leading proponent of federalism) and onset of Soviet domination may have stunted such dreams. Yet the authors appear to question the extent to which such ideas might have prevailed anyway, in light of significant division between Czechoslovak and Polish exiles about how much strength postwar federalism should have and how it should operate. This in turn could also undermine the claim that Polish conceptions of European integration would in fact have been viable.

If at times it can be hard to locate a coherent and feasible Polish platform for European integration before 1945, the majority of the book succeeds in tracing the strident, if also perhaps obscure, integration objectives of Polish exiles during the Cold War. Here the authors' departure point appears to come from Poland's Cold War dilemma: with Poland cut off from "Europe" by the Iron Curtain, true European integration could only be possible through the ideas of Polish exiles who had fled to the Western lands. During the war itself and in increasing number thereafter, Polish exile clubs formed across the West advocating a European Federation which could withstand German and Soviet influences (p. 59). Pol-

ish exiles formed the Union of Polish Federalists in 1949 and debated vigorously during landmark moments in European integration (p. 75). As Western powers increasingly sought solutions which did not liberate Poland from the Soviet sphere, such as “peaceful coexistence, proposals for the unification of Germany, neutralisation and disengagement, and finally détente,” Polish federalists felt their hopes dim, and their proposals diverged from most Western opinion about Europe’s future (p. 169). Despite this, federalists dreamed from the 1950s through the 1970s that the European Economic Community might somehow emerge as a third power, independent of the USA and USSR, and capable of somehow drawing Poland and other Eastern European countries out of the Soviet bloc into a federated and independent Europe (p. 122-123). This “Europe of neighbors” (in contrast to a Europe of antagonistic alliances) was to feature common citizenship and reject nationalism (p. 141). Digesting all of these details, the reader discerns a fascinating claim: due to the tragic destruction of their country, Polish exiles may have developed a particularly acute sense that all of Europe required integration in order to attain peace and survive.

Unfortunately, the authors’ core claim – that “the Poles” spearheaded many of the most crucial European ideas – can at times become problematic, because the claim requires much stronger definitions: which Poles, and which Europe? To treat the first issue, the authors pose that western exiles provided the only important source of postwar Polish ideas about integration. They admit that “the number of exiles both in Britain and the United States was quite small” (p. 21). Nonetheless, ideas about integration among the millions in Communist Poland, such as the potential of Eastern European integration under the socialist Warsaw Pact, are denied serious consideration. This is in large part due to the fact that, despite attempts by the authors to detect popular support in Poland for the exiles’ pan-European ideas, it is ultimately impossible to judge how much these ideas truly affected the priorities of a population which, it appears, may have preferred good relations with immediate neighbors. In interviews with prominent pre-1989 Polish politicians, the authors were told that few citizens of Communist Poland had much interest in European integration, because they were more concerned about “relations with the Soviet Union and Germany, the question of borders, and domestic conflict,” in essence national issues (p. 193). Though exile journals and Radio Free Europe programs scripted by Polish exiles introduced concepts of integration to the Polish population, even the exiles themselves were often more receptive to nationalist than pan-European ideas. The authors demonstrate that the exile press *Kultura* advocated for Polish dominance and even annexation of eastern lands, a goal not in keeping with the expectations among most Poles (p. 226). Thus, while the authors counter their interviewees with a belief that most Poles were ready for integration with Europe in 1989, the evidence presented leads one to conclude that Cold War-era pan-European ideas stemmed from a very small crowd of exiles whose influence may not have been particularly great.

By the same token, the authors should have defined what they meant by Europe: a democratic and capitalist union in which Poland and Greece are the easternmost members. Such a definition seems to be supported by claims dispersed throughout the text. “The Poles” are presented as tireless visionaries attacking “flirtation with fashionable themes” such as “neutralism, peaceful coexistence, and détente” (p. 4). The early interwar Jagiellonian idea of a new Commonwealth from the Black Sea to the Baltic is demoted to a mere “temporary political plan”, because it failed to “take into account the most important bond which should unite the nations emotionally, namely the sense of belonging to the common family of Western culture” (p. 12), while Russia is envisioned outside of Europe, to be subjugated and even colonized by Western European ideas (p. 71). In essence, Cold War-era Polish exiles are said to have adopted a democratic, capitalist, anti-Russian approach to European federalism. The neglect of other views can cause the narrative to resemble a history of European integration read backwards.

In the end, this is a book deeply rooted in contemporary political questions about Poland’s place in Europe. It is an affirmation, and certainly not an untimely one, that no nar-

rative of European integration can be complete without taking Polish contributions into account. The work is supported by archival research, periodicals, secondary literature, interviews with Polish political personalities, and a bibliography introducing essential reading in Polish, English, and French on the subject. For this reason, so long as one keeps the present political context in mind, it is a welcome addition to any course syllabus on the subject of European integration. Europe might have integrated in any number of ways (and its present configuration is by no means stable), but it is impossible to appreciate the conversations about integration without taking the contribution of Polish exiles into account.

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Brian Porter-Szücs: Faith and Fatherland. Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland. Oxford Univ. Press. Oxford – New York 2011. IX, 484 S. ISBN 978-0-19-539905-9. (€ 40,99.)

This book offers ten case studies on the history of central themes and concepts in modern Polish Catholic thought such as the Church, modernity, politics or morality. Analyzing the field of “assumptions, ideals, and principles that make up Catholicism” (p. 13), this detailed and substantial monograph in intellectual history covers each major period of modern Polish history (including reflections on the contemporary situation) and provides an account of “what different people believed to be mandated, encouraged, tolerated, and precluded within the normative ideal of Catholicism in Poland” (p. 14). A central aim of the book is to trace subtle shifts in what has been considered possible, permissible and imaginable for Polish Catholics and thereby to historicize their beliefs and ideas.

Viewing every large “-ism” as a vehicle for thought and action, Brian Porter-Szücs presents his findings in intellectual history without claiming absolute primacy for the discursive realm. Drawing primarily on normative writings such as sermons, pastoral letters and devotional books, he tells “the story of an ideological and theological frame of reference” (p. 13) and explores (explicit or implicit) debates about and tensions between various forms of Polish Catholic discourse. He thus devotes equal attention to the doctrinal core of Catholicism and the outer frontiers of its orthodoxy.

Through its impressive empirical studies on the history of ten terms and concepts, this book provides alternative though largely coherent perspectives on how Catholicism was made modern in Poland. It shows how Polish Catholic authors “appropriated and to some extent domesticated the troublesome vocabulary of modernity” (p. 82). It shows that Catholics developed their own, unmistakably Catholic, democratic but hardly liberal social vision as an alternative to both capitalism and communism, even as they never doubted that the essence of the Church was timeless and stable. Catholics were pulled into the discourse of democracy but because they opposed the “relativism” of accepting indeterminate outcomes, they tended to endow democracy with substantive content, that is, to make religious principles govern political practices. As the will of popular majorities proved not to reflect their religious expectations after 1989, many of them grew disillusioned and disappointed, which should not be all too surprising given that “the Polish Church has probably never been as powerful and influential as it was in the 1980s” (p. 258).

After analyzing the major ways Polish Catholics have related to modernity and politics, P. explores the distinctive features of Catholic ecclesiology. He explains that in the Catholic vocabulary the Church signifies the union between the transcendent and the terrestrial realms and as such constitutes an unassailable keyword. As he shows, “advocating moral rigor, devotional innovation, and even institutional reform” (p. 29) could prove acceptable as long as the sacred authority of the Church was not directly questioned. On the other hand, to depict the Catholic Church as a mere human creation meant to step outside the bounds of Catholic orthodoxy.

The chapter on the uses of the concept the Church also traces the expansion of the boundaries of ecclesiology. P. points out that the egalitarianism of purpose between the clergy and lay Catholics before the momentous changes of the 1960s was not even rhetori-